1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

The gathering of wild vegetable products is traditionally considered to antedate agriculture. Tales are told of the times when the Riffians subsisted on these products and game alone. In Ktama, where agriculture is difficult, the gathering of wild plants, especially *tuzzelt*, forms an important occupation. At the end of winter, when the dried fruit is gone and when the larders are low, many Riffian families would die of hunger if their womenfolk did not go out on the mountain slopes and up the watercourses looking for these natural foods.

The green plants, such as watercress and asparagus, are subject to a dietary sex tabu. Woman only may eat them. The reason given for this distinction is that they produce blood, fat, and soft flesh, desirable in women but not in men.

Mulberries and cherries were probably introduced by the Arabs and later abandoned. Mulberries are not considered good food and are seldom eaten except through necessity. Tomatoes were probably introduced from Spain and then given up.

Cultivation of Fruit and Nut Trees and of Vineyards. *zilon* (male), *misala* (female), the domestic olive tree. The male tree produces large olives low in oil content, which are preserved in lemon juice and eaten as a relish. The fruit of the female tree is pressed into oil. As a rule all the male trees in an olive yard are cut down with the exception of one, which is left to fertilize the female trees. The olives are called by the names of the trees which bear them.

arman, the pomegranate tree. The Riffians recognize sex differences in pomegranates, considering that the fruit with a thick skin and large, hard seeds in the granules is produced by the male tree, whereas the better fruit is produced by females. As a rule, the male trees are all cut down but one, which is left for fertilizing the others. Sometimes male trees are left, so that the fruit may be sold in markets frequented by people unacquainted with the difference. The fruit and tree bear the same name.

er ghas, the fig tree. There are four varieties of fig trees, *aseiri*, *aghudani*, *awar n aksi*, and *abaran*. The fruit borne by the *aseiri* is round, with longitudinal purple and green lines; that of the *aghudani* is long, pear-shaped, and purple; that of the *awar n aksi* is round and light green. There are two varieties of *abaran*, one of which is round and green and the other long with black or purple lines. The three first varieties bear twice a year, in June and in September. The June figs, called *er bashor*, are eaten but not dried, except for use as medicine, since they contain but little sugar. The September figs, called *thezath*, are dried. The *abaran* varieties bear only in September. The Riffians say that the *abaran* types are the only indigenous strains, and that the *aseiri* and *awar n aksi* came originally from the Arabs, whereas the *aghudani* is derived from the Negroes.

shukwar, a wild fig. Planted, it is said, by birds that have eaten cultivated figs, this fruit is useless for eating, but is employed for magical purposes. Each year the women and children go out and gather the wild figs when ripe, tie them together in pairs with grass, and hang them on the branches of the domesticated fig trees. There are said to be insects in the wild figs which come out and touch the buds of the domestic figs. It is thought that if these wild figs were not so hung and if the insects from them did not touch the buds, the cultivated figs would not bear.[1]

[1] Westermarck (p. 190) states that the Riffians hang male figs in female trees, in order to fertilize their fruit. A small insect, *Blastophaga grossorum*, bores in and out of the figs, fertilizing them. Westermarck refers to Elfving's *De Vigtigaste Kulturväxterna* (Helsingfors, 1895), p. 74.

I: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

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July. In July, forty-five days after having planted the maize, the farmers reap it, fertilize and water the terraces, and set out the second crop. This second maize is a different variety from the first, and grows more rapidly. After it has ripened it is left in the ground until December or January, when it is removed in time for the next season's ploughing. Towards the end of July the almonds and walnuts are picked and stored away.

August. About the first of August, after the second crop of maize has been planted and the almonds and walnuts picked, the farmers gather the turnips, potatoes, and small beans, planting in their stead more potatoes, more turnips, and black beans. They likewise set the onion seed out in beds, and after the shoots arrive cover them with manure and branches to keep them warm during the winter. Toward the last of August the late figs are picked, split, and set to dry. Figs intended for sale rather than for local consumption are not split, but are spitted on sticks of wood. At this time the farmers also pick pomegranates and carob beans.

September. September is the grape season. Whole families repair to the precipitous vineyards with baskets to pick, sleeping in the vineyards at night, and feasting and playing games. This is the season of festival, and likewise the time when weddings take place. At this time, when the families are sleeping in the vineyards, raw garlic is eaten plentifully, since this is the only time of year in which people do not live in the house, and it is considered shameful to have an odor of garlic about the house. After the grapes have been picked the women gather the root called *fathis*, which they burn. The ashes, mixed with water, are used to wash the grapes before these are set out to dry. Grapes washed in this way are said to dry more rapidly, not to rot, and to form better raisins.

[260]
[251]

October. Toward the end of October the olives are picked and stored away packed in salt until the farmers find leisure in which to grind them. Olives can be kept two years in storage without detriment.

251

November. In November the farmers graft trees, using beeswax in the process just as it is used among modern farmers. They tie the waxed joints with cloths, which they leave on until the following spring. In October and November the men cut wood and brush for their fires, enough to last them through the winter. The women and children help them to bring this wood in on their backs.

December. Toward the end of this month and in early January, those farmers who possess orange trees pick the fruit. Some of it is eaten, but much is sent to Fez to be sold. During the winter months, when it is stormy outside and farming is ended, the men sit inside the house working with wood, fashioning spoons, hoe-handles, and ploughs, and do what repairing is necessary upon their houses.

This calendar of events keeps the Riffian farmers very busy most of the time, and as a rule they are most industrious and energetic workers.

In the regions where there is no terraced irrigation (left white upon map 2[1]) only one crop of maize is grown, and but one crop of vegetables. This is compensated for by the relatively greater abundance of arable land in the east and other low-lying districts. The mountain people depend to a great extent upon vegetables, especially the leguminous varieties, and dried fruits and nuts, while the lowlanders go in more extensively for wheat and barley.

[1] See p. 52.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

contain meat. The vegetable *guaz* consists of vegetable marrow, potatoes, onions, and peppers casseroled in a pot with oil. Meat *guaz* consists of the same combination of vegetables, or of as many of them as can be obtained, plus gobbets of any kind of meat — goat, sheep, or beef — or whole chickens. *Guaz* is the dish commonly given to guests, especially Europeans and Arabs.

The *kebab*, a recent innovation, is a series of chunks of meat, preferably mutton or goat, spitted on a length of wire, stick, or on a specially constructed spit. Pieces of fat alternate with the meat, and chopped-up onions and peppers are rubbed into the meat lavishly. The whole is broiled over a charcoal brazier and eaten as soon as it leaves the fire. (See plate 19.) The *kebab* forms an easily prepared and tasty dish, especially convenient for people on the march, who cannot carry pots or other utensils. Although introduced only recently it has had a rapid diffusion throughout the area, and is now known everywhere. An especially prized type of *kebab* is that made from bits of liver wrapped in sweetbreads.

Meat may be preserved for later consumption by two methods, drying in the sun and the manufacture of sausages.

er kadidth, from the Arabic *el kadid*, may be made of any meat commonly eaten, except chicken. Mutton, goat, and beef kadids are common, but the meat most suitable for this form of preservation is the flesh of the wild boar. Until recently pork kadids, resembling in taste ham, shoulder, and bacon, were made throughout the Rif, but through an increasing wave of religious feeling this article of diet is fast disappearing. In the Rif it is found only occasionally, and even then is made and consumed secretly through fear of ridicule. The people of Temjunt and Inhanahan of Gzennaya, as well as the Beni Amart, probably make and consume more of it than any other groups in the Rif. In the Senhaja Sghir it is still manufactured and eaten openly, especially in Ktama, Beni Seddath, Beni Bu Nsar, and Beni Khennus. In Beni Bu Nsar and Taghzuth it is called by another name when Arabs or Riffians are present. The kadid may be eaten dry, like chipped beef, or in a *guaz*. It is made and eaten by everyone in the area excepting the Metalsa and Beni Bu Yahyi.

thimhagzin, sausages, are made from goat meat, beef, and pork. The latter meat is rarely used at present, but was formerly the common sausage material. The meat is chopped up, mixed with fat, salt, peppers, and onions, and packed into intestines, bladders, and stomachs. Sausages are eaten only on the feast of *Ashor*, and occasionally on the *Haggus*. For the former celebration, one sausage is made for each member of the family, its size varying with the size of the person who will eat it. These delicacies are hung in a cluster on a rafter. Sausages are found in the Beni Amart and among the Mountain Urriaghlis.

Fish. This is eaten very rarely in the mountain interior, although it forms a common enough article of diet along the coast. When eaten fresh, there is but one method of preparation — by frying in a skillet, with olive oil or some other fat. Sardines are more commonly eaten than any other kind of fish, and when prepared in this way, with olive oil, are very tasty.

There are two methods of preserving fish, by salting and by baking. Salting is done as soon as the fish are brought up on shore. The product so prepared is carried inland in baskets and sold in markets. (See plate 32.) Sometimes sardines are put in a bake-oven without being cleaned. When baked to a crisp they are set aside for winter consumption. Salted fish are sold inland, but baked fish are intended for the use of fishermen and their families.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

262 being ignorant of rennet, use instead the sap squeezed from the ends of fig branches. They
234 claim that this fresh juice will solidify milk.

Intoxicants and Narcotics. *sammet*, grape jelly. An intensive manufacture of grape
273 jelly is carried on in the central Rif and in the Senhaja Sghir, by means of boiling pressed grape juice until it has reached a viscous state. Such of this jelly as has been subjected to a
●[251] relatively short period of boiling is alcoholic. *Sammet* is put away in jars for winter consumption and is regarded as a delicacy. Distribution is throughout the Senhaja Sghir excepting Beni Gmil and Beni Mesduy, Mountain Urriaghel, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, and Beni Amart. In Beni Amart it is not made, on account of the absence of grapes, but is imported from Beni Urriaghel and extensively eaten. None of the other tribes who do not make it ever eat it.

Wine-making, which Marmol [1] attributed to the Riffians, is not at present practised except by a few Riffians who have learned the process in Algeria. I was unable to find any tradition of its former manufacture or use. It is, however, made in the Beni Zerwal, a Jeballan tribe a very short distance from our area. Here it is called *khamr*, the Classical Arabic word for wine. It is possible that the Riffians formerly made wine and then gave up the practice. It is likewise possible that they adopted it from first-wave Arabs, whence the Zerwali word, and then gave it up. The Arabs, in the early days of the Caliphate, were not all total abstainers.[2] On the other hand it is hard to imagine a Mediterranean country where grape culture is well organized which was ignorant of wine before the introduction of Islam.

276 *kif*, a narcotic, is the ordinary *Cannabis indicus*, a hemp grown in many parts of North Africa as a drug. Although not cultivated in the Rif it is extensively grown in the Ghomara and Western Arabophone Senhaja, as well as throughout the other mountain tribes of northwestern Morocco. Two different parts of the plant are used for smoking, the leaf and the flower, of which the latter is by far the more potent. With it is smoked a harsh variety of tobacco, also grown locally. The mixture is smoked in a small-bowled clay pipe with a wooden stem. (See plate 14.) *Kif* is grown and used in the Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama. Of recent years its use has been spreading eastward, until at present it is commonly used in Taghzuth and other tribes of the Senhaja Sghir. It has not yet become common in the Rif proper, although single individuals, usually travelling hawkers, smoke it secretly.

hashisha. In the Beni Bu Nsar, Ktama, and other tribes in which *sammet* is made and eaten, hemp has been converted into a novel use. It is made into a paste and eaten. In this way an effect greater even than that obtained by smoking it results. Whereas *kif*-smoking is not often indulged in by women, members of that sex eat *hashisha* as freely as do their husbands. The eastward diffusion of these two traits of hemp-using seem to be accompanied by the correlated diffusion of a degradation of woman and by the practice of sodomy. *Hashisha* is distributed as is *kif*, but is also found in Beni Bu Nsar.

264 **Riffian Table Manners.** When a Riffian family eats alone, the women and children
574 sit with the men and eat with them. Intimate guests are allowed to eat with the family. When, however, guests of distinction or guests who are not intimately acquainted with the

[1] Chaps. 62, 70, 79, 86–88.

[2] Sir William Muir, *The Early Caliphate*, pp. 143, 184, 207 *sqq.*, 316, 386, 423, 431, 467, 473, 488 *sqq.*, 507 n., 570, 601.

796 782 [120] It is the rule that as soon as the animal is killed its head and feet are cut off. The women seize hold of them in great haste and singe off the hair as quickly as possible (Dukkala, Hiaina, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder, At Ubahti). In Dukkala it is believed that if they do not do this rapidly their own hair will not grow; but the original reason for the practice in question seems to be the belief prevalent among some Berber tribes (Ait Waryager, Ait Nder) that the smoke of the hair drives away evil spirits or protects from other evil influences as well.

The part of the sacrificed animal which is to be eaten first is generally the liver, although in some instances it is only partaken of [252] on the second day of the feast. It is either roasted or boiled with salt. The other parts of the animal are eaten in a fixed order, which, however, varies in different tribes or in different families. Very frequently the lungs and the stomach (Fez, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), as also the heart (Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz), are partaken of on the first day, and the head (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Mnasara, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Demnat, Amanuz) and the feet (Tangier, Shraga, Hiaina, Andjra, Temsaman, Ait Warain, Amanuz) on the second; but sometimes the lungs, stomach, and heart are eaten on the second day (Ait Sadden), and the head and th the feet on the first (ibid.) or the third (Ait Waryager). The flesh is almost universally abstained from on the first day.

[262] [121] Among the Ait Temsaman and the Ait Waryager children are not allowed to eat the throat, because it has been cut with a knife; the former also prohibit them from eating the eyes, while the latter maintain that if two boys should eat together the same eye they would quarrel.

● [251] What remains of the meat is made into qaddid (or geddid [Ulad Bu 'aziz], lqaddid [Igliwa], rqaddid [Temsaman, Ait Waryager], tiqqaddidin [Ait Sadden], asawar [Ait Yusi], tagarin [Aglu], tifiyi iqorn [Amanuz]), that is, the meat is salted and cured in the sun in strips.

[735] A portion of the qaddid is generally given in charity to poor people. We have previously seen that some of it, or something else of the sacrificed animal, is left to be eaten on the eve of the following 'asura. Among the Ait Waryager some qaddid must be preserved till the following mulud.

[i.e. - sacrificial - Analyst]

243 (Ait Yusi), rue (Hiaina), or harmel (At Ubahti), and extremely frequently by a sickle or a dagger.

251 [242] Among the people of the plains the grain is stored in subterranean granaries consisting of a circular, bottle-shaped pit, the mouth of which is carefully sealed. Such a granary is called in Arabic matmura (Ulad Bu'aziz) or matmur (plur. mtamar; Andjra), and in Berber tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Aglu), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Warain), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder), dasraft (Ait Waryager). At each village there is a place, called l-mers, which contains a larger or smaller group of these pits.

251 778 [243] In Andjra baraka is added to the grain by a piece of bread being placed in the matmur; while the Ait Waryager, according to a scribe from their tribe, believe that the holiness of the granary itself may make the grain increase after it has been put there.

[244] The grinding of the corn is also subject to certain rules. Evil influences of various kinds must be avoided.

[245] The Igliwa do not even touch grain after 'asar, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager nobody is then allowed to lend his hand-mill to a neighbour.

776 778 [247] The Ait Waryager put tar and flour into the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried—tar in order to prevent the jnun from striking the owner when he again digs up his money, and flour, I was told, to keep the money clean. But perhaps the latter also is intended to serve as a protection against those spirits; in the same tribe a little salt and a grain of barley are sometimes put into a written charm to prevent it from being spoilt by jnun, who are said to be afraid of corn after the ra'sor (la-'sor) has been paid [783] out of it. At the Great Feast flour is used as a means of purifying the sacrificial animal before it is killed; and people who have attended a burial purify themselves by touching flour.

784 [249] In the Garbiya, the Hiaina, and elsewhere nobody would give away yeast from the house or tent after 'asar; to do so would be to give away the rezq or baraka (Ait Waryager).

4/2 The sieve—called in Arabic garbal (garbal, gurbal), karballu, or garballu, and in Berber tallunt (Amanuz, [250] Ait Warain), tallunt (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), dardund (Ait Waryager), arkkut (At Ubahti)—which is made of pierced sheep- or goatskin with a wooden rim, must also be handled with caution.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

The population density, 65 individuals per sq. km., although not the highest in Spanish Morocco, is a greater number of people than the land, which is one of the most infertile in the Protectorate, can effectively support. In the last century the Aith Wuryāghil found blood-feuding a sure outlet to reduce their overpopulation, but, at, the present time, as they are no longer allowed to carry firearms, the population problem is met by a large annual exodus of ablebodied tribesmen to the plains of western Algeria, where they help out with the barley, wheat, olive and grape harvests on the farms of French colons. The terrible drought in the Rīf in 1945 precipitated emigration to a previously unheard of degree, and today the number of people from Aith Wuryāghil who are living and working outside the Rīf is greater than ever before.

Those who stay at home follow an annual agricultural cycle in which cereal cultivation is extensively practiced, particularly that of barley. They plow and sow their fields in the autumn and winter, and reap and thresh the grain the following summer. The straw is piled up into circular, conical silos (*athmūn*, pl. *ithmūnen*) to be used in the winter as fodder for the animals, of which cattle and goats are the most important, sheep less so. Mules and donkeys are employed as beasts of burden, while horses, owing to the extreme poverty of the people and the mountainous configuration of the terrain, are virtually non-existent. All, without exception, keep chickens and, inevitably, dogs, while in certain favored areas apiculture is practiced; the bees of Jabal Ḥammām produce the finest honey which it has ever been my good fortune to sample.

Although barley is the most important cash crop (the barley harvest of 1953 was the best on record), the Aith Wuryāghil spend comparatively little time working their grain fields, not more than three or four months a year, all told; it is their trees which receive the bulk of their attention. The most common trees are fig, pomegranate and almond in the Bay of Alhucemas, with olive substituted for pomegranate in the mountains; they are all pruned, watered, grafted and fertilized with great assiduousness, for dried figs and almonds constitute the principal food reserves during the winters, after the grains have been eaten. The same is true of raisins, and the cultivation of grape vines is extensively practiced in the mountains near Sūq al-Arbaʿ of Taurirt.

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

342 [361] House sites in Aith Wuryāghil are determined by two principal considerations: availability of water and adaptability for defense (6). The walls, sturdily built of mud and stone masonry in the mountains and of adobe in the plains, form a rectangle which is almost a square; wall dimensions are, roughly, 15 by 20 meters in length, 3 1/2 or 4 meters in height, and 1/2 meter in thickness. Walls and rooms are constructed around a courtyard. Save in the houses of rich men who can afford a *ghurfa*, there is only one floor, of baked clay. The roof is flat, made of earth and supported by beams. The rooms, located [356] just within and along the walls, are always whitewashed and kept scrupulously clean; this is particularly true of the reception room for guests, who enter it by a small side door so as not to see the women of the family who are working in the courtyard. There is never more than one small, rectangular window to a room, and in the houses of wealthy Riffians glass windowpanes are now in vogue. The windows also served as loopholes in case of attack after the old feuding towers were removed by order of 'Abd al-Karīm in 1922. In one corner of 351 the courtyard is a sunken pit, usually partitioned off, which acts as a stall for the family cow; above this is a loft used for storage. The courtyard itself, to which access is gained by a large wooden door [354] through which the animals may pass, contains the oven in which the women bake barley bread; the brushwood needed to feed it is stored beside it. Also inside the courtyard is the kitchen and an underground [251] silo, in which the grain reserves are deposited, while dried figs are kept in big circular wickerwork baskets sunk into the earth. The courtyard is surrounded by a porch, consisting of the ground floor and an extension of the roof supported by pillars. The center of the patio acts as a shelter for the goats and sheep at night, if there is no special stable for them. Each house is inevitably surrounded by an [417] impenetrable clump of cactus (which has a certain food value in hard times), and the mangy dogs of the owner always bark furiously at the approach of a stranger; the house is thus well guarded. Just beyond it, and near the orchard, is the threshing floor, upon which the circular straw silo is piled up by the *akhammās* as the last of his tasks during the agricultural year.

(6) Blanco Izaga, Emilio: **La Vivienda Rifeña**, Ceuta 1930, passim.

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[465] 97--The fqih is paid by each nuclear family of the jma'th in barley every year, but he receives absolutely nothing from property in habus.

[251] 98--The office of amarras is nonexistent in the Central Rif, where storehouses, either individual or collective, are unknown, and each man keeps his grain reserves in an underground deposit (thasrafth) in the patio of his house.

[804] [114] 99--In the days of the Republik, a mudd was reckoned at 48 kilos; in Spanish times, 50; and since independence, 56. This puts some doubt on the accuracy of Blanco's figures.

[114] 100--Blanco erroneously thought that collective storehouses once existed in the Rif, and he cites Ajdir and an unnamed place in the Sanhajan tribe of the Bni Hmid as examples; and he also thought that the institution should be revived, as a sort of bank or treasury or center of credit.

101--What Blanco no doubt means to say here is that the notables whose names are written down in this qanun are ipso facto no longer anonymous, and that the first step on the rise to personal power is the shedding off of anonymity.

[114] [562] 102--In Rifian, imqqranen dh-imzzyanen, and in the Arabic of qanuns, "al-kibar wa al-sighar": the terms refer to all the men and youths (or boys) of a given locality. Perhaps this is the root of Blanco's interesting, if in some ways rather questionable, notion of women, who do not have the same status as their menfolk, as minors.

103--The notion of qa'id came in with 'Abd al-Krim, but no Rifian living can remember the day when there was no qadi, even if only matters pertaining to marriage, divorce and land fell under his jurisdiction.

[114] [179] 104--What Blanco probably means to say here is "Arabization" rather than "Islamization"; there is much more than just a subtle distinction between the two, and even during the period of the "Republik", a Rifian would have been mortally offended if anyone did not consider him a good Muslim.

105--Bu-mwarith: an official who takes over in the name of the government the property, real or movable, of any person who has died without issue or heirs.

106--Ukil l-ghuyab: inheritance or property representative for absentees; the man's function is a literal translation of his title.

107--This traditionally given etymology seems highly doubtful, for the Rif at least, and the term should rather read aitarba'in or aitharba'in (sing. utharba'in), which changes the meaning to the far more plausible one of "people of the people".

[114] 108--This seems to be purely an ex post facto explanation on Blanco's part and has no relation to reality. The notion of Ait-arba'in as people of the forty, in which there literally were 40 councilmembers, d o es e x i s t in some areas (i.e. the Rgibat Bedouins of the Western Sahara), but it is unknown in the Rif.

621
423 11) Estate: The rural estate must be considered as being formed by the funds and property which the members of the jma'th looked after and which are mentioned in Section (5) above, and those which they used in common, such as lands and fruit trees, water, brushwood, pasturage, etc., (all) comprising the patrimony of the jma'th, given the fact that all of these were administered freely by the latter, and that they originated in it and invested in it, although toward different means and ends, as we shall try to show.

794
793 a) Worship: The attentions to worship, in any tribe, presented two aspects which were cared for in different ways. One was that regarding all pertaining to the mosque as a building, dhamzyidha (construction, repairs and maintenance), and the other was that of the personage who officiated within it: the fqih. The re-
[423] sources on which both depended had the same origin: the intangible patrimony of the mosque formed by voluntary donations of well-to-do and pious individuals, consisting of lands and fruit trees, the working of which through leasing and the acquisition of graves in the vicinity of the mosque constituted its income.

794
[429] The administration of these properties was the job of a lay member of the community, who was nominated by it and to which he
[251] had to account. The storeroom for grain was the ghurfa (Rif. ghwarfth), the second story, or any other room of the dhamzyidha or mosque, the key of which was kept by the mqaddim just mentioned, while the fiqh was its guard.

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621 When plowing-time arrived, the patrimony was leased at a meeting of the jma'th, and when it was time for the harvest, each

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[villages of Ubed 'Abd al-Mumin]

had died by the rifle, and many of their brothers as well. Some provision must be made for young widows and their helpless children. To the human population of fifty-seven was added an animal roster of one hundred and twenty-five head: 10 cows, 1 calf, 15 sheep, 80 goats, 1 donkey, 2 mules, and 16 dogs. Six of the men owned the goats, and one the sheep; three men had none. Each man, however, owned a cow, for all needed milk.

There were a total of 923 food-bearing trees—more than 16 to a person, or 92 to a family. These were divided as follows: almonds, 525; figs, 272; olives, 71; pomegranates, 33; apricots, 16; oranges, lemons, and walnuts, 2 of each. Every man owned at least 4 almond, 15 fig, and 3 olive trees. Dried almonds and figs are absolutely necessary to sustain life in late winter once the grain has been eaten, while olive oil is the essential fat. The other kinds of trees produce useful fruits, but the Riffians can get along without them.

In these high valleys arboriculture is the main business of the people, and they prune, water, graft, and fertilize their trees with extreme care. Compared to this activity the Riffian spends but little time in his fields; he owns enough tillage for only about four weeks' plowing time a year, with a range of from twenty to forty-five days among the ten men. Those who have little are hired to work for those who have more, on the ancient system of granting a fifth to the plowman. Work on the vegetable gardens rates a fourth, while he who cares for another man's trees receives a third of the fruit, aside from windfalls which are for women, children, and the poor.

Unfruitful trees have long ago been felled to make way for the silver-leaved olives and the lofty walnuts. Up high on the ridges to either side one can still cut cedar and even a few pine. Below the man-made tree line is a zone of brushy goat pasture, and below this, but still steep, the vineyards. Here the families gather in September to pick the grapes, which they dry into raisins to be eaten with the figs and almonds. Up the valley a way there are two public installations, a small turbine water mill of familiar appearance, which belongs to the grandsons of its builder, and an olive press, which serves several villages. This olive press is actually near the center of another village, inhabited by holy people who never fight. Their holiest member regulates the protocol of olive pressing, aside from serving as imām to lead the Friday prayer, in which the grown men of all the villages of that part of the valley participate.